

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USLO PEKING

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY

DEPARTMENT PROVIDES FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS ON RECENTLY-
CONCLUDED SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY FOR
MISSION TO DRAW UPON AS APPROPRIATE. INTERNATIONAL
STAFF MAY FIND COMMENTS USEFUL IN PUTTING FINISHING
TOUCHES ON NATO POLADS STUDY OF SINO-SOVIET-JAPANESE
RELATIONSHIP.

1. THE SIGNING OF THE SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
TREATY REPRESENTED A SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS FOR
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BOTH TOKYO AND PEKING, AND, IN THE JAPANESE CASE AT LEAST,
ONE HAVING SIGNIFICANT DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.
THE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION REQUIRED CONCESSIONS BY EACH
SIDE ON ISSUES CRUCIAL TO THE OTHER, BUT NEITHER PARTY
SURRENDERED ON WHAT IT CONSIDERED TO BE MATTERS OF
VITAL PRINCIPLE FOR ITSELF.

2. SPECIFICALLY, CHINA AGREED TO WORDING OF A "THIRD COUNTRY CLAUSE" WITHIN THE BODY OF THE TREATY WHICH ALLOWS JAPAN TO ARGUE CREDIBLY THAT TOKYO DID NOT ENTER INTO THIS AGREEMENT AS AN ANTI-SOVIET ACT. (MOSCOW HAS

REACTED WITH PREDICTABLE PIQUE; BUT AFTER A PERIOD OF THEATRICALS, THE SOVIETS MAY WELL DECIDE TO CUT THEIR LOSSES AND AVOID STEPS WHICH WOULD UNNECESSARILY ALIENATE THE JAPANESE.)

3. PEKING FURTHER SWEETENED THE POT FOR THE GOJ BY REITERATING THAT THE ENTRY OF CHINESE FISHING BOATS INTO WATERS AROUND THE DISPUTED SENKAKU ISLANDS THIS SPRING WAS "ACCIDENTAL" AND WOULD NOT RECUR. CHINA ALSO RESPONDED TO JAPANESE EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF THE SINO-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE -- WHICH IS EXPLICITLY DIRECTED AGAINST JAPAN -- BY TELLING FOREIGN MINISTER SONODA THAT PEKING WOULD GIVE ONE YEAR'S TERMINATION NOTICE IN APRIL 1979. (THIS IS A MATTER WHICH WAS PRESUMABLY DECIDED PRIMARILY IN THE SINO-SOVIET CONTEXT. BUT ANNOUNCING IT IN THIS WAY BOTH EARNED BROWNIE POINTS FOR PEKING IN JAPAN AND CAST THE PFT INTO A SOMEWHAT MORE ANTI-SOVIET MOLD.)

4. PEKING ALSO PROBABLY HOPES TO GAIN GREATER ACCESS TO ADVANCED JAPANESE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. WHETHER THIS
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OCCURS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. BUT AT A MINIMUM, THE SIGNING ELIMINATED A GROWING IRRITANT IN AN OTHERWISE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL EXPANSION OF RELATIONS.

5. THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY MAY HAVE BEEN DUE IN PART TO A CHANGE IN PRIORITIES ON PEKING'S PART. IN EARLIER YEARS, THE PRC SEEMED DETERMINED TO OBTAIN TOKYO'S AGREEMENT TO TERMS WHICH LOCKED THE JAPANESE INTO AN OPENLY ANTI-SOVIET POSITION. THIS TIME CONSISTENT WITH THE RECENT PRAGMATIC THRUST OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, THE PRIORITY SEEMED TO BE ON GETTING A TREATY. PEKING DID NOT BACK AWAY FROM THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, BUT IT GAVE TOKYO THE BREATHING ROOM IT NEEDED ON THAT ISSUE.

6. TOKYO, IN TURN IDENTIFIED ITSELF WITH A POSITION WHICH IT KNEW WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY MOSCOW AS UNFRIENDLY AND WHICH PLAYED INTO CHINA'S HANDS. BUT THE "THIRD-COUNTRY CLAUSE" MET ITS REQUIREMENTS AT A TIME WHEN PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA WAS LOOKING FOR A MAJOR SUCCESS TO BOLSTER HIS OWN DOMESTIC POLITICAL STANDING.

CHRISTOPHER

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